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NIXON AND OUR MORAL DEBASEMENT

By James L. Brewer

Indictment of Monopoly Power of the American daily newspaper Press in the exercise of its private dominion of so-called "captive readership", that is the power of arbitrarily denying public voice access to the national mass media of communication, is not without importunate occasion for invocation.

Perpetration of the disquieting, undemocratic offense in a recent incident found brazen exercise in the powerful American Gannett newspaper chain, having headquarters in Rochester, N.Y., embracing nineteen American journals with largest issues in the Rochester morning Democrat and Chronicle and an evening Times-Union. Paul Miller is chief of the chain, having succeeded Frank C. Gannett, lately deceased. Mr. Miller officiates in Rochester in a special status as Editor and Publisher of the Times Union.

Publisher Miller recently entered wholeheartedly into the bountiful political promotion of the Richard Nixon campaign for the United States presidency, a campaign luxuriating in the enormous advantage of the nation's notoriously sweeping one-party press.

The editor's first effort was defensively inaugurated in combat of the extraordinary challenge expressed in the liberal press and elsewhere of the moral, political qualification of Mr. Nixon for the presidency of the United States of America.

The editor in advertisement labeled his defense of the vice-president, *"Opportunist or Statesman?"* He gave high praise of a recent book on Nixon by Earl Mazo, entitled "Richard Nixon, a Personal and Political Portrait." He averred main reliance for his treatment of the subject on the Mazo account. He published the Mazo work in full in installment form in the Rochester Times-Union.

In due course a prominent local clergyman, Rev. William P. Jenkins, of the First Unitarian Church of Rochester, delivered from his Sunday pulpit a forthright sermon in support of objections to Mr. Nixon as a candidate for the United States Presidency on the moral grounds of the opposition to him in the questionings of character fitness.

Editor Miller greeted this criticism by taking Pastor Jenkins to task for associating the vice-president in moral dereliction on a low plane of integrity with figures in the revelations of the quiz show scandals. The words of the churchman the editor pronounced libellous.

This writer, as such active in publicist affairs of the community, having taken a position of opposition to the vice-president as disqualified for the post of President by egregious condemnatory evidences in his political record, took issue with the editor and directed to the Miller paper an attempted justification of the Jenkins position.

The letter which follows was denied publication with no comment:

Paul Miller, Editor and Publisher
Rochester Times-Union

Editor Paul Miller in December '12 Times-Union took to task local pastor, William P. Jenkins for forthrightly questioning in sermon the qualification of Richard M. Nixon for the United States presidency on the grave charge of shortcoming in moral integrity in the sensational Campaign Fund episode of his senatorial career in 1952.

The editor reprobated revival of the issue at this time and purported to "set the record" straight on "Nixon and Campaign Fund." He said: "I have checked several accounts of the Nixon fund, relying on the unquestionably impartial book of Earl Mazo, an experienced and objective Washington journalist. It is by no means a mere eulogy of the vice-president." (The Times Union published the book serially.)

The editor made no mention of a recent work, entitled "The Facts about Nixon," unvarnished facts, of a notably wider comprehensiveness than Mazo's, particularly dwelling on the campaign fund incident.

The work, running serially in the liberal weekly magazine, "New Republic," beginning September 28, has now appeared in book form. The author is William Costello, also a Washington journalist. Mr. Costello's credentials, as given, are impressive. "As political reporter—he is a veteran in all news media, past president Radio - T.V. correspondents' Association, C.B.S. White House correspondent and Far East News director. As Mutual Networks White House correspondent he is heard daily over 458 stations.

"My undertaking," says Costello ,"was simply to present the facts and let the record speak for itself."

Mr. Mazo's biography was authorized by Mr. Nixon; Mr. Costello's was unauthorized. An interview was not granted.

In the light of the Costello account, a consummate study, the Rochester clergyman's treatment would seem to be courageous and notable witness to urgent need of revival of the Nixon moral issue in growing gravity of a history-making 1960 presidential campaign with the vice president apparently established as a nominee.

The Times-Union editor, specially scored equating the vice-president with the quiz show offenders as in offensive relation of "acceptance of bribes from business men." Rev. Jenkins solemnly warned of the quiz show scandal having come on as a mere part of a pervasive national blight of frightening moral delinquency climate involving the very summit of our society.

He was reported as saying the American public from the Vice-President on were indictable for putting worship of success and money above morality and integrity; that the television show

scandals were merely a dramatic, but rather petty symptom of what is wrong with our society, with similar evidence in American politics, advertising, sports and education, a climate of morality in which we aren't supposed to speak out about things if they hurt business.

Costello relates that the crisis over the Nixon private expense fund broke in the New York Post, headed "Secret Nixon Fund."

The story was said to have had its beginning with a disgruntled Republican who raised objection to being pressured for the fund.

Dana Smith, a Los Angeles lawyer, trustee of the fund, explained to the Press that the government had for years been selling contralized control of all phases of American life and individualists had been rendered impotent at the polls. "Our thinking," said Smith "was that we had to sell and for that job Dick Nixon seemed to be the best salesman against socialization. That's his gift, really salesmanship. Dick did just what we wanted him to do'.'

"After Nixon's election (to the Senate) we did not stop thinking about him. We realized that his salary ($12,500) plus a tax-free $2,500 for expenses) was pitifully inadequate for a salesman of free enterprise. We took the position that we were going to see him through . . . Well, between the time of his election to the Senate to the vice-presidential nomination we gave him between $16,000 and $17,000 which I disbursed."

Sensation over the story of the fund raising grew rapidly. The independent newspaper Sacramento Bee said:

"The man who the people of the sovereign State of California believed was actually representing them is the pet and protege of a special interest group of rich Southern Californians. To put it more bluntly Nixon is their subsidized front man, if not, indeed their lobbyist."

Nixon's first public reaction to the charge was in angry answer to a heckler. He maintained that the expenses of his office were in excess of the amount allowed under the law. "Rather than using the taxpayers' money for these expenses," he said, "what did I do? What would you have had me do? I will tell you what some of them do." He went on to tell of what some Democratic office holders had done, "like putting their wives and relatives on the federal payroll, and unethically as lawyers, garnering fat legal fees on the side."

As a parting burst he said:: "What I intend to do is go up and down the land, and the more they smear me the more I am going to expose the Communists and the crooks and those who defend them until they throw them all out of Washington."

The desperate defense went on to the famous melodramatic television speech, dubbed "the Checkers Speech" by dubious satirists, but of extraordinary effect, carrying a highly emotional pressure to enable the party powers to resist prior urgings for the Senator's withdrawal from the vice-presidential candidacy.

In analysis of the Nixon staged story performance, "with his wife in frozen immobility nearby him," Costello obsefves:

"Among sophisticates the "Checkers Speech," as it became known, was unbearably corny, the worst of political hokum and soap opera combined. The senator was no sooner off the air than it became apparent that the speech was a political triumph. The sophisticates were in a minority. For the rest of the populace the high moral tone and the air of candor with which he bared the intimacies of his financial problems proved irrestible."

"Republican headquarters reported the receipt of 300,000 letters and telegrams, signed by a million persons and running 350 to 1 in favor of Nixon."

Costello continues: "Still the triumphal telecast did not lay all the ghosts. Nothwithstanding his (Nixon) explanation there remained certain indigestible facts: That real estate men gave 36 percent of the fund, manufacturing and distribution interests gave 19 percent and oil interests another 10 percent; and that Nixon's votes on housing, on corporation taxation, on labor and on oil leases tended uniformly to favor their interests.

In the cold afterglow of the campaign it was apparent that some of his arguments were specious; some of his facts were subject to challenge; some of his assertions left unanswered questions."

Costello supplies specifications for his assertions. "It was specious, he says, for Nixon to argue, as he frequently did, that his purpose in accepting the gift was to save the taxpayers' money. None of the expense covered by the fund could have been legally charged to the taxpayer. He never alluded to the fact that his regular office allowance in Congress was $70,000 a year, all of which he spent."

For the supreme challenge of the Senator's performance, Costello declares, that "for obvious political reasons the Fund controversy was handled in a way that omitted the key question:

"Is it morally right for a United States Senator to accept gifts from private interests having a large financial stake in matters on which the Senator speaks and votes?"

"Not the least serious aspect of the Checkers broadcast," says the writer, "was Nixon's statement that he had never so much as made a telephone call to a federal officer on behalf of a fund contributor. The Washington Star, the day after the broadcast, reported that Nixon's office had interceded on behalf of Dana Smith himself (trustee of the Nixon gift fund) in a Justice Department case in which a firm owned by Smith's family was asking for a rebate of more than half a million dollars."

"Politicians," continues Costello, "have an instinctive distrust of abstract moral considerations. The hound's tooth doctrine, as it was applied in the Eisenhower—Nixon crusade, distinguished sharply between the abstract and the pragmatic behavioral values.

It defined morality as something different from politics, so that 'moral' cleanliness, was simply personal, and had nothing to do with policy. Nixon was adjudged wholly 'honest' by his COP peers because it was evident that he had not been guilty of anything so crude as a confusion of public and private monies. *The challenge has not been posed in those terms, and when it was answered in those terms alone, it was not answered at all.*"

A New-World Era challenge of America today demands response in terms of major moralities in high seriousness of spiritual and ethical values.

JAMES L. BREWER

Dec. 21, 1959 Rochester, N. Y.

Note:—Copywright restriction on quotations from the Costello story was waived for this article by New Republic Editor and Publisher, Gilbert A. Harrison.

The author, Margaret Halsey, epitomized the silent counts in the political indictment against Nixon in her memorable tract against him, first published n the *New Republic*, entitled: "*Nixon . . . beware the tender trap*," *as* "The money he accepted from California business men; the Checkers speech; his campaign tactics against Congressman Voorhis and Helen Gahagen Douglas, and his imputations of treason against the Democrats in 1954."

It is pertinent that a recall of an atrocious exercise of the Monopoly Power Press "captive readership" dominion in an earlier experience should be set out here.

Harking back to the late days of the Truman administration a sensational so-called Jenner report of the Congressional Committee on National Unity was publicly rendered, charging subversive activities in the government by representing that the New Deal and the Fair Deal constituted a vast communist conspiracy over 20 years of Democratic administration.

The Times-Union under present management announced special arrangements to publish the voluminous report in full, and boasted of being the first paper to so publish. It was published in a long series of installments and highly advertised by the total Gannett papers. The management went so far as to offer free distribution in the public schools. This was a period when Richard Nixon was trading strongly in his imputations of treason on the part of the Democratic government.

This writer in response to invitation of a public complaint department of the paper, wrote the newspaper in protest against this performance, quoting from a powerful analysis of the Jenner report by the outstanding political commentator, I. F. Stone, publisher and editor of a Washington weekly.

Stone warned grimly of the crypto-fascist drift in these tactics, saying: "The purpose of the Jenner report is to defame the memory of a great period in American history; to make Eisenhower a prisoner of the China lobby, and to intensify that mood

of paranoid suspicion, mutual distrust and growing panic as necessary as prelude to Fascism."

The letter was ignored. A record of the experience was published in the January, 1954 issue of the "New Christian" under the heading: "Road to Repression."

Margaret Halsey's remarkable diagnosis on the major morals note of the ignoble phenomenon of the Richard Nixon cynical, self-propelling presidential adventure decries, as of frightening momentous import, its debasement of the American character. She has anticipated drift of a very conspiracy of capricious circumstance in the Nixon eventual, adventitious preemption of the presidential field as sole candidate of his party.

The one-party press she indicates will make it difficult to discuss the vice president in terms of the known realities of his character.

"To judge the vice president lieniently," she says, "to modulate, as already attempted, into a lower set of standards may be expected to become more and more of a temptation, both for professional observers of politics and for persons whose interest in the subject is peripheral."

In brilliant warnings, she says:

"There must be no tolerance of adjustment to a deceitful strategy of promoting a fallacious image of a "new" and "mature" figure in the candidate."

"The flight from moral standard is almost always rationalized as tolerance, flexibility, a sensible, reassuring point of view.

To describe Nixon as 'immature' his early behaviour is transmuted. It becomes not unscrupulous, treacherous and evil, but merely boyish, inexperienced and ill-judged."

"To charitable souls it may seem vindictive to dwell on Mr. Nixon's past, but the issue transcends considerations of charity.—To remember the vice-president's record is to keep alive—if only by inversion—that standard of morality which makes life worth living."

Author Halsey recognizes that it is in the atmosphere of a sick society that it is not too hard to resign one's self to Richard Nixon. She relates the reply of playright George Axelrod to a Mike Wallace television question as to why authentic American humor is dying out.

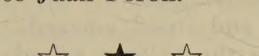
"Life itself is so satirical," the playright replied, "it is hard to satirize it. It is all so preposterous and musical comedy, with buffoons running the country and the Russians making us look idiotic. In a grotesque, horrible way, life itself has become pretty much of a joke. And you can't make a joke on a joke."

"Morality is not just a picture ground for prigs" comments Margaret Halsey. "On the contrary, it provides the hard substratum of seriousness, without which, as Mr. Axelrod points out, comedy and authentic humor wither away.... The present situation is outwardly as extravagent as to justify many times over

Mr. Axelrod's reference to musical comedy. The highest office in the land wobbles like a spent ping pong ball between a Kansas Hindenberg and a character assassin. The inner situation is more tragic and austere. What is actually involved in the tender trap about a 'new Nixon' is an attempt to debase the moral currency. This attempt is unconscious, but that does not make it less important to fight off."

Margaret Halsey augments the show business distrust of the American culture as expressed by playright Axelrod by a complementary version as given by Mr. Richard Maney, dean of theatrical press agents, saying that humor today is considered subversive, and that no American newspaper would now print Will Rogers.

And Margaret Halsey would add the supporting conclusion that "a check on the newspapers of the 1920's bears out the resounding accuracy of Mr. Maney's statement. Will Rogers was acerb and percipient and popular to a degree that we have forgotten. He would certainly have noticed that Mr. Nixon in his 'mature' incarnation, cares more for rectitude and good government than anybody since Juan Peron."



HANGMAN

By Maurice Ogden

Into our town the Hangman came,
Smelling of gold and blood and flame—
And he paced our bricks with a diffident air
And built his frame on the courthouse square.

The scaffold stood by the courthouse side,
Only as wide as the door was wide;
A frame as tall, or little more,
Than the capping sill of the courthouse door.

And we wondered, whenever we had the time,
Who the criminal, what the crime,
The Hangman judged with the yellow twist
Of knotted hemp in his busy fist.

And innocent though we were, with dread
We passed those eyes of buckshot lead;
Till one cried: "Hangman, who is he
For whom you raise the gallows-tree?"

Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye,
And he gave us a riddle instead of reply:
"He who serves me best," said he,
"Shall earn the rope on the gallows-tree."

And he stepped down, and laid his hand
On a man who came from another land—
And we breathed again, for another's grief
At the Hangman's hand was our relief.

And the gallows-frame on the courthouse lawn
By tomorrow's sun would be struck and gone.
So we gave him way, and no one spoke,
Out of respect for his hangman's cloak.

The next day's sun looked mildly down
On roof and street in our quiet town
And, stark and black in the morning air,
The gallows-tree on the courthouse square.

And the Hangman stood at his usual stand
With the yellow hemp in his busy hand;
With his buckshot eye and his jaw like a pike
And his air so knowing and businesslike.

And we cried: "Hangman, have you not done,
Yesterday, with the alien one?"
Then we fell silent, and stood amazed:
"Oh, not for him was the gallows raised . . ."

He laughed a laugh as he looked at us:
". . . Did you think I'd gone to all this fuss
To hang one man? That's a thing I do
To stretch the rope when the rope is new."

Then one cried "Murderer!" One cried "Shame!"
And into our midst the Hangman came
To that man's place. "Do you hold," said he,
"With him that was meat for the gallows-tree?"

And he laid his hand on that one's arm,
And we shrank back in quick alarm,
And we gave him way, and no one spoke
Out of the fear of his hangman's cloak.

That night we saw with dread surprise
The Hangman's scaffold had grown in size.
Fed by the blood beneath the chute
The gallows-tree had taken root;

Now as wide, or a little more,
Than the steps that led to the courthouse door,
As tall as the writing, or nearly as tall,
Halfway up on the courthouse wall.

The third he took—we had all heard tell—
Was an usurer and infidel,
And: "What," said the hangman, "have you to do
With the gallows-bound, and he a Jew?"

And we cried out: "Is this one he
Who has served you well and faithfully?"
The Hangman smiled: "It's a clever scheme
To try the strength of the gallows-beam."

The fourth was a man of a darker hue
Than the rest of us, by a shade or two;
And "What concern," he gave us back,
"Have you for the doomed—the doomed and black?"

The fifth. The sixth. And we cried again:
"Hangman, Hangman, is this the man?"
"It's a trick," he said, "that we hangmen know
For easing the trap when the trap springs slow."

And so we ceased and asked no more,
As the Hangman tallied his bloody score;
And sun by sun, and night by night,
The gallows grew to monstrous height

The wings of the scaffold opened wide
Till they covered the square from side to side;
And the monster cross-beam, looking down,
Cast its shadow across the town.

Then through the town the Hangman came
And called in the empty streets my name—
And I looked at the gallows soaring tall
And thought: "There is no one left at all

For hanging, and so he calls to me
To help pull down the gallows-tree."
And I went out with right good hope
To the Hangman's tree and the Hangman's rope .

He smiled at me as I came down
To the courthouse square through the silent town,
And supple and stretched in his busy hand
Was the yellow twist of the hempen strand.

And he whistled his tune as he tried the trap
And it sprang down with a ready snap—
And then with a smile of awful command
He laid his hand upon my hand.

"You tricked me, Hangman!" I shouted then,
"That your scaffold was built for other men . . .
And I no henchman of yours," I cried,
"You lied to me, Hangman, foully lied!"

Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye:
"Lied to you? Tricked you?" he said, "Not I.
For I answered straight and I told you true:
The scaffold was raised for none but you.

"For who has served more faithfully
Than you with your coward's hope?" said he,
"And where are the others that might have stood
Side by your side in the common good?"

"Dead," I answered; and amiably
"Murdered," the Hangman corrected me:
"First the alien, then the Jew . . .
I did no more than you let me do."

Beneath the beam that blocked the sky,
None had stood so alone as I—
And the Hangman strapped me, and no voice there
Cried "stay!" for me in the empty square.

SOVIET MATURITY AND THE VATICAN SWITCH

What Death Hates is . . . Life

Is it not plain since the cartels of death have centered their hatred and fear against the Soviet Union, that they must have instinctively discovered in the Soviet Union that principle of life which is their opposite? Their fear is justified in the event. First, the Sputniks have advertised to the world the fact that science is free in the Soviet Union. Second, and much more significant, has been the flesh-and-blood impact of cultural, athletic, and scientific interchange, in which the world has been completely disarmed by the spiritual maturity, the readiness to forgive past injuries, the ardent desire for friendship of the new Soviet man and woman.

We cannot re-iterate too often that it is not only Communism the business-church alliance is fighting, but man himself, the very idea of man the whole history of man. That is why these powers, big business and big church, have climbed into the fascist bed together; they belong together, two hearts that beat as one.

The curtain is rising now on the final act of the drama. At the bidding of the late Mr. Dulles, the USA flaunted its military might in the Near East, out of which every day and night and all day and night the oil flows into ships and pipelines to enrich the kings in their harems and the foreign oil barons. The people who live in these lands have suddenly realized that this oil belongs to them and is being stolen from them. They are throwing out the kings and would make better bargains with the foreign oil buyers. The Cold War one might say does not apply to this situation. But in the fixed stare of the death cartel the Cold War applies to every situation. And it really does, for the Soviet people cannot but be interested in the struggles of people everywhere to get rid of exploiters and robbers. People all over the

world, in their fight to break the chains of their servitude, look steadily to the Soviet Union as to a light in their darkness, giving them hope and strengthening their faith in their coming victory.

This does not mean necessarily the presence of Soviet agents. The light of the Soviet Union is there! It is set on a hill. It cannot help shining for all the world to see. I have seen its light in Negro homes in the American South giving moral strength to the fight against white supremacy. It filters into what are apparently the most irrelevant situations, so that there is an ironic perceptiveness in our Cold War fanatics seeing "Red" wherever they look.

Not many years ago as the US marines rushed ashore and the US admiral bragged of his ability to bring atomic death to the fellahin, all this within little more than earshot of the USSR, the world waited for the Soviet reaction, expecting patience and maturity and was not disappointed. Without hysteria, confidently riding the tides of history yet ready for the give-and-take of diplomacy, the Soviet leaders confronted the USA and UK with the realities of the Middle East and with the inevitability of tragedy unless they retreated from their provocative position. This was the world's recognition of the Soviet man and of his role in its affairs.

Knowledge of the past helps to explain the present. Helps I say, because no knowledge can forsee what new thing the creative spirit of man may introduce into the historic chain of events. Even the creative spirit, however, cannot make new things without knowing the conditions under which it must work, the conditions which limit its creation. To understand the present situation in the West we must have in mind the history of Christendom, its beginnings in the life and teachings of Jesus, its death by martyrdom under the Roman emperors, its perverted re-establishment as part and parcel of the imperial rule, its sponsorship of feudalism, its division into the Protestant-Roman split under the impact of capitalism. More recently we must recall the rise of clerical-fascism, its military defeat, its come-back in Western Europe under the leadership and protection of the USA. This final development we must deal with in some detail.

THE GREAT SWITCH

It was signalized by Russell Hill in the wireless from Vatican City to the New York Herald Tribune, June 9, 1944: "It is obvious that he (the Roman Pontiff) now believes the Allies will win the war and is taking great interest in the kind of peace that will follow . . . In the past the Vatican has opposed revolutionary forces by working with the Mussolinis, Francos and Petains . . . Today, however, the Vatican seems to have made a significant shift of policy, *hoping to gain the same ends by collaboration with the Anglo-Saxon powers.*"

I have emphasized the words because to those who thought they had been fighting an anti-fascist war, they were sinister words. One thing Mr .Hill forgot however. On July 30, 1933, at

Vatican City, Hitler's ace diplomat, Franz von Papen, signed with Cardinal Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII) a concordat between Nazi Germany and the Holy See after which von Papen became Papal Chamberlain, receiving the Grand Cross of the Order of Pius, and declared, "The Third Reich is the first power in the world not only to recognize but to translate into practice the high principles of the Papacy." Mr. Hill should have added Hitler to those with whom the Pope worked to build a fascist order in Europe. Since the Anglo-Saxons were mostly Protestant and were still bleeding from the blows of Hitler, this switch on the part of the Papacy called for considerable acrobatic skill. The Papacy was equal to the occasion.

As its most important manouver at this period there appeared in the USA a "Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace." It was supported by powerful phalanxes of Protestant and Jewish leaders lined up on either side of the biggest guns of the Roman hierarchy in the USA. It was meaningless and was intended to be meaningless, for its purpose was not to speak a word about the actual peace of actual people, for instance, the people of Spain, suffering unspeakable agonies under Franco. That might have led to differences of opinion, and this declaration was designed to shun all such differences and present a united clerical front, a front which could afterwards be manipulated to serve the new war that was already envisaged, the war on the world's rising peoples and on their champion, the Soviet Union. That this holy cartel's "Peace Pattern" was in reality a war pattern was obvious to those who had read a little history. Very soon it was written on the sky in the form of a giant mushroom.

But it was not only atom-bombs that exploded between 1944 and 1946. There was an explosion of clerical-fascist influence throughout the West. For instance ,the French zone of Germany came under the influence of Petain's generals, though Petain was in jail. The French occupation newspaper, *Wochen-Kurier* (No. 42) carried such clerical-fascist propaganda as the following: "Everywhere one finds supporters of the idea of a Rhineland State, of which Catholicism should be the basis, forming the nucleus of a Catholic Federation, reaching from the North Sea to Switzerland, perhaps even to the Adriatic Sea . . . Germany will again return to that political form of life which will make it possible for her to play anew the role of champion of western culture." Is not this the program of the Dulles Brothers—USA? And has it not been 'sold' to the American people by the industrialist and finance backers of American reaction?

The sales 'argument'? Terror of Soviet Russia.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Terror lest Russia might win some of the fruits of her victory over Japan in Siberia.

Taiwan and Korea? Terror lest the Russians consolidate their alliance with 600 million Chinese.

The Near and Middle East? Terror lest the Russians might

be enabled to buy oil there and terror lest the people might move towards democracy.

Esther E. Johnson, a Presbyterian teacher in the American Junior College for Women in Beirut, wrote 12 years ago: "It seems more obvious every day that England and certain American interests are plotting a new Imperialist Partition in the Near East which will attempt to defeat the development of the people there . . . The second major indication of imperialist purpose is the attempt to create an anti-Soviet seat of reaction in the Near East not only against the free development of the peasants, industrialists, workers, intellectuals and women there, but also as a basis for an attack against the Soviet Union. This second manouver is a major threat to world peace and should be publicized as such in the United Nations." (*Protestant* July, 1946).

Esther Johnson was a missionary who had heard missionaries attack the Soviet Union and the Communists at the slightest provocation; she was an exception, like Spencer Kennard, Stanton Lautenschlager, Ida Pruitt, and others. She was a loyal Christian; she had studied the program of the Communists, talked with the Lebanese and Syrian Party Secretaries. From first-hand acquaintance she found that their program was such that *loyal* Christians could and should support it. Speaking as a Christian she said, "It was OUR PROGRAM."

She would have said the same later of the programs of British Guiana and of Guatemala which were not even Communist in name yet were smashed by the Capitalist terror, egged on by official Christendom, whose vast apparatus (Catholic and Protestant) coalesced under the threat of economic strangulation by the big pew owners and the seduction of ease and prestige.

After the 'holy' cartel's Pattern for Peace (War) came the Soft Peace Front (forgive the poor dear Nazis). Father Coughlin's Christian Front was scrapped to make way for the wider trifaith front which included the Jews. The United Nations itself became in large part a Christian Front, through the adherence of the Catholic Latin American states to that body and through the great influence of the Vatican in the USA and Canada as well as in Western Europe. Note the present rapprochement between De Gaulle and Adenauer, both "Catholic" statesmen, who sympathize with the aspirations of the Vatican.

Two tendencies or movements may be observed in the West at the present time:

First there is a strong re-activization of those forces, chiefly associated with the Vatican, championed by the Kennedy wing of the Democratic party and, failing his nomination, by the Nixon Republicans, of the Cold Warriors. These forces draw to themselves the whole armament business with all its contingent beneficiaries which make up a large segment of the American economy and a large majority of the uninformed American people.

But there is another tendency (and both these tendencies are

post Sputnik if not propter-Sputnik) exemplified by the sudden awakening of some of our college students from their "decade of silence" and apathy.

The visit of Krushchev, the warmth and friendship of the Russians (not their triumph) at Squaw-Valley, their enthusiastic reception of American artists in Russia, all these have seeded this continent with a new spirit, a new feeling of hope for a world deeply longing for peace. This spirit is exhibited in a letter from a student at Dalhouse University, Halifax, a member of the Students Christian Movement who had returned rather disillusioned from a continent-wide conference of the S.C.M. at Athens, Ohio. Here in part is her letter:

"There has been a Russian oceanographical ship in port the past few days and they held open house for some of us kids. Well, it was just tremendous. Such warm people, and when they shook your hand, it was bone-shattering—they really meant it. They all said 'Welcome to our country,' 'We *want* you to come, please.' They urged candy and cigarettes on us, and drank toasts to peace and friendship. It was a tremendous thrill meeting them, shaking their hands, smiling with them, seeing the warmth in their eyes. This encounter among students is worth more than many diplomatic talks. It was thrilling to see the Canadian Kids realize that they are people, real flesh and blood. 'Specially one Roman Catholic boy who kept saying over and over 'It does us good to really realize they are *real* people.'

"This one evening has given me more 'hope for a world in travail' than the whole conference at Athens."

The race is on between the Cold Warriors and this girl.

STANFORD RESEARCH FOR WAR

By Louise Harding

"SRI Journal", put out by Stanford Research Institute, recently issued its series of (in the main, warmongering) articles for the fourth quarter of 1959, entitled "Spectrum of Conflict, 1960-1970." Issued in expensive style, on the best of paper and copiously illustrated. Paper-covered, it sells for $1.00 a copy, and evidently is not intended for general circulation.

Its purpose, as proclaimed by William J. Platt, who (according to a note on the cover) "provides management support to major interdisciplinary defense research program at the Institute," is

> "to link in public forum the Journal's audience, *uniquely important in private and public decision-making*, with nine authors who by their ideas and their work have unusual insight into the spectrum of conflict that will affect so much of human activity during the decade of the 1960's" (if the

world lasts thus long under the rule of these influential individuals. Emphasis is added.—LH).

Platt maintains, following the usual ultra-reactionary line, that

> "The Communists can operate with singlemindedness about their goals and the strategies for achieving them; we use decentralized and democratic means of decision-making aimed at pluralistic goals. Their diplomatic tactics permit . . . cynically warm and cold overtures; our press and our people run sincerely hot and cold, with a national propensity to be friendly and forgiving."

All that needs to be said about those "democratic means of decision-making" is to remind how Harry Truman, under the influence of his secretary of war—chosen from a great warplane-making concern—plunged the United States and its allied subordinates into the attack on little Korea without in any way consulting Congress—under the false pretense that at the time the orders were given committing USA, the "United" Nations had authorized the act. In view of this fascist violation of the U.S. Constitution (for which Truman would have been impeached if any genuine democracy had survived at the time,) the war was not then called a war, but Truman said it was a "police action," alleging it to be necessary because the northern half of Korea (as they claimed) had attacked the southern part (Rhee and his then-secretary of state later made public acknowledgement that the south went over the border in an attempt to overwhelm the north's government: they were quickly driven back).

As for that "friendly and forgiving" policy pursued by the ruling cartelists of USA, as carried out by Truman, *Hiroshima* and *Nagasaki*—the two most ghastly crimes in history, and intentionally perpetrated, according to documentary proof, on sites where hundreds of thousands of non-combatants were victimized—is sufficient answer to this bit of consummate hypocrisy.

William B. Kintner ,army man, one-time special assistant to President Eisenhower, and senior military advsior to the Operations Research Office, John Hopkins University; and Alvin J. Cottrell, who has worked with the Draper committee, wrote the first article in the Report; it is entitled, "The Protracted Conflict," and claims Soviet tactics have "provoked" the West into going to war. (See above, on Korea.) It refers to "Soviet nuclear blackmail": *who started A-and-H-bomb warfare?*

The sinews of Communist power, continues the article, are "a vast continental base, (Hitler's propaganda used to talk of "heartlands"—LH) increasing productive power, scientific knowledge, tight organization, and ideological consistency.

> "There is no reason to believe that any of these factors will undergo a substantial change, assuming no general war . . . As long as present trends in the Free World continue we may assume that Communist power will grow. Communist strategy will be aimed at completing the world revolution . . .

subverting Africa south of the Sahara, (also) Latin America."

—The Strategy of United States, of course, is to keep its present holdings and add to them as much as possible, "subverting" all the Communist countries that it possibly can.

As it is desired to stop the growth of Communist power (which will continue "under present trends," with no general war,) it would seem to your paragrapher that the alleged propensity of USA to be "friendly" and avoid war, by no means meant to be encouraged by the writers of this article, who tell us that "History has cast the United States in the unenviable role of leader of the Free World and its principal defender against the Communist bid for world domination."—That's what the British tories used to tell Hitler *he* stood for; and U.S. cartelists likewise lent a powerful hand to build up Hitler's military power, for precisely the same aim—to be the "main bulwark against Communism."

Furthermore, it is unadulterated tosh to talk about "history" as enabling USA to assume such a role; it was the money gained during World Wars I and II, together with the fact that its geographical position enabled the country to escape Hitler's bombs —although he promised the Germans that, one of these fine days, US would get plenty of those. And, if present policy continues, Adolf was quite right on this point.

Herman Kahn:

Next in the SRI Report, comes one Herman Kahn, writing on "The Nature and Feasibility of War and Deterrence," from the Center of International Studies at Princeton University. We learn that Kahn spent 11 years at the *Rand* Corporation studying problems of weapons design and strategy; has served as a consultant to the Gaither Committee—who got out that report of which it is impossible to get a copy (for the reason, probably, that, as alleged, it advocates "Preventive War.") Kahn has also advised the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization.

His contribution to research starts thus:

> "A nuclear war is too horrible to contemplate, too mutually annihilating to consider." If this is completely true, then a potential aggressor has a capability of staging an unlimited number of "Munichs"? (The quoted sentence says, "*mutually*."—LH). For only one side of two titanic nuclear-powered nations to believe this, *whether true or not* (emphasis added) might lead to the most catastrophic mistake of history—to either a Pearl Harbor or an Armageddon."

Munich was the result of a conspiracy on the part of the Western Allies to put Hitler in a position to attack Russia. Kahn trusts to the ignorance of such of the general public as may read his words to enable this common piece of arrogant falsification to go unchallenged. He, and those who follow his line, attempt to make the world forget that it was Russia who was to be victimized.

Kahn's propaganda is aimed at putting over the conclusion

that USA is too peace-loving to consider making atomic war. "If only the West 'buys' [the idea that such warfare is unthinkable] and "because of this drops its guard," we have "an open invitation to blackmail of the Munich type." (As reminded above, the Munich "blackmail" was perpetrated by the West!)

Krushchov, Kahn says, holds that, while war would be horrible, "yet with sufficient preparation only the capitalists would be destroyed." What K. said was that, while the loss of life on both sides would be horrible, *capitalism* (not "only the capitalists") would be destroyed. Which is quite different, since populations are of mixed politics.

The article continues:

> "So much depends on this notion of the balance of terror. Is it really true? Would only an insane man initiate a thermonuclear war? Or, are there circumstances in which a nation's leaders might rationally decide that a thermonuclear war would be the most preferable of the possible alternatives?"

Teller says Yes—your reviewer has read a statement from him saying that destruction of the world would be preferable to life under Communism—and many cartelists, here and abroad, agree with that.

He goes on:

> "Perhaps, not surprisingly, one can conclude on examination that with current technology there are plausible, even probable, circumstances in which the leaders (fuehrers—LH) of a country might decide that war was the best alternative. Equally unsurprising, many people get very annoyed or angry at anyone making such a statement, although recognition of a situation is not necessarily endorsing it."

An attempt to hedge.. But Teller *has* openly endorsed it.

> "*Genetic Effects*—Many biologists and geneticists are worried about the genetic effects of even the peacetime testing of nuclear weapons . . . Calculations in this field are inherently uncertain . . . One study indicated that the survivors of the war might average about two or three hundred roentgens of radiation to their reproductive organs before age thirty. This is an enormous amount of radiation. It is about one or two thousand times as much as people in the United States would receive as a byproduct of the test program. It is about fifty to a hundred times as much as they would normally get from natural sources. It is a large and frightening dose.

It would result in much damage, but there is no evidence that it would be 'annihilating'.

> "If present beliefs are correct, the most serious genetic effect of this amount of radiation would be to raise the number of children born seriously defective about 25 per cent . . . This is a large penalty to pay for a war, and more horrible still, one might have to continue to pay a similar though smaller price for twenty or thirty or forty generations. And

this, in turn, means that this extra horror of the war may or may not deter a nation from going to war, depending on the pressures it labors under and alternatives it has.

"*Medical Problems*—for example, the bone cancers and leukemias that might be (*are* —LH) caused by strontium-90 and the other life-shortening effects of the internal and external radiation from fission products. Here, again, examination indicates that while the problems are horrible, they may well be within the range we are accustomed to . . . The war might result in an average life shortening of less than one or two years, for those who were lucky, and five or ten for those who were not. In any case, life will go on."

—NO: there is air poisoning.

Not one word here, about the complete destruction within the Blast Area. And to think of the rank nonsense being fed the people, concerning "safety" to be found by crawling into a hole and covering it with a couple of feet of dirt! Or by taking refuge in basements—in houses that will fall and bury them alive (see Agadir). Under those dirt "shelters", in or near a great city, the victims will be baked, like potatoes under red hot ashes. Those handing out such arrant lies are simply trying to keep folks quiet while they are led to frightful deaths. (March 20; SF Chronicle carried item saying that a Governor Meyner had come out with strong criticism of spending money for such useless measures of "protection": "A cruel deception," said Meyner, most truthfully.

Says Kahn, on the possibility of war:

" . . . consider an East German revolt in which a rearmed West Germany felt obligated to intervene, or a U.S.-Chinese war which became all-out. Our retaliatory capability must always be good enough that even if the Soviets evacuate their cities, they will still feel that it is more risky to strike . . . "

The Nazi Hand:

Next, Kahn shows his hand as an out-and-out Nazi—this adviser of Eisenhower and the U.S. militarists:—

"Even or especially, if the 'balance of terror' theory is correct and we don't have to worry about a deliberate Soviet attack on the United States, we are still faced with important strategic problems. In 1914 and 1939, *it was the British who declared war, not the Germans.*" (Emphasis added.—LH)

—No, the Germans did not *declare* war; they simply made it!

"Such a circumstance m i g h t arise again, but if the "balance of terror were correct, then we are as likely to be deterred as the Soviets; it is doubtful that the United States would resort to an all-out attack on the Soviets, even to correct or avenge major Soviet aggression in Europe."

(In Korea, MacArthur was bent on taking a step that would have brought in the Russians; and Dulles did all he could in Indo-China to take action in which they would have felt they were involved—but the British

said No.)

Francis Matthews, while Secretary of the US Navy, urged his country to be the "first aggressor for peace", and prominent officials besides him have not hesitated to advocate such "friendly" measures as *dropping bombs on the Kremlin.* But Charles E. Wilson, when secretary of war, said that, as far as he could see, Russia had always been on the defensive; and Alfred M. Gruenther, heading U.S. troops in Europe, announced that he could detect no signs that Russia was preparing to attack—no roads being built to the frontier, or gauges of railroads being changed, etc.

Hitler, on the other hand, said (see Rauschning's "Hitler Speaks," p. 138,) that even if forced to make an alliance with Russia, "[that]" will never stop me from as firmly retracing my steps, and attacking Russia when my aims in the West have been achieved."

In WW I, the German famous reference to the treaty with Belgium as "a scrap of paper" caused great scandal, we recall.

Yet now, we hear nothing of *German* disregard for treaties. No: now they are the US cartelists' worthy and reliable allies, and it is Russia that we cannot trust!

The truth is that Russia was betrayed by the Western allies when they refused to carry out the agreements entered into at Yalta and at Potsdam, thus undermining the very foundation of the concessions Russia made. Then they turned around and yelled that Russia had walked out on *them.* Precisely like this *Munich* talk.

But Kahn (the defender of Hitler Germany) assumes the Russians will strike first, "at a time and with tactics of their choosing. We strike back with a damaged and uncoordinated force . . . The Russian Air Defense is completely alerted." Etc., for paragraphs, show how (he says) USA will be at disadvantage *by letting Russia hit first.* That he means from this, to preach "preventive war" by USA is clear enough; but he goes on to decry (p. 135) the calculations made in the United States, "in evaluating the performance of a proposed civil and air defense program (which) invariably suppose a Russian surprise attack—and to make the problem even harder—a surprise attack directed mostly against civilians (such as the one US made at Hiroshima and Nagasaki—LH) This is unnecessarily pessimistic for some foreign-policy effects. The calculation in which one looks at a *United States strike* following a Russian provocation *is probably more relevant* in trying to evaluate the role the offense and defense play in effecting some important aspects of foreign policy." (Italics added)

—As to the assumed "provocation," who will know whether the country and the world are not being lied to, *as they were about Korea?* If there should be falsification, those who tried to expose it would be instantly suppressed. *We have seen before, just how that works.*

Mentions Kahn,

" . . . in June 1950 the United States was engaged in a great debate whether our defense budget should be 14, 15, or 16 billion dollars. Along came Korea. Congress quickly authorized 60 billion dollars, an increase by a factor of 4."

—Precisely: that's how it operates.

If Russia succeeds in talking the United States out of Berlin, says Kahn, the latter has some very strong cards to play "if we refuse to accept a face-saving defeat and in fact force the Russians to rub our noses in the dirt . . . Under these circumstances the U.S. government would have to go into enormous defense budgets, probably close to at least $100-billion-a-year level . . . not only to implement our current forces but also to buy large limited-war forces, and to buy things like civil defense and the corresponding military forces that would give us a credible capability for *initiating a war (italics added)* if a humiliating crisis should be repeated. There will also, under these circumstances, be enormous pressure on the NATO nations to combine into an even tighter alliance" (with nazi Germany leading, which may turn on its allies.—LH).

Concluding thus:

> "Even if we have acquired the highest quality Type I Deterrance capability, we must still have a capability for fighting and surviving wars as long as it is possible to have such a capability . . . The threat of force has long been an important regulatory factor in international affairs; one cannot remove or greatly weaken this threat without expecting all kinds of trouble . . . . In fact, insofar as the balance of terror theory is correct, then if any nation actually does use bad behaviour as part of its foreign policy, then *no matter what our previous threats were* (italics added) we must meet that bad behaviour by using limited means or simply allow that nation to get away with whatever it is trying to do."

To impress Russia to the proper degree of "deterrence", says Kahn, "we" must learn "to distinguish between bankruptcy and a reduction in standards of living. *(We* being the working people, one presumes, and by no manner of means the cartelists and their tools).

Kahn thinks it quite possible that the Soviets will "really be willing to give up any hopes of world domination to be achieved by the use of military force, give up their curious notion of the only satisfactory status quo as being a situation in which the Soviet World increases every year and the Free World decreases, and that all kinds of subversive and violent activities are part of this peacetime status quo. On the other hand, our understandable desires to liberate the satellite nations do not look like a reasonable acceptance of status quo to the Soviets."

—In other words, an old and steadily diminishing system of society must not be discredited to the world by showing it up for

what it is. Those enslaved by dictators must be left to emancipate themselves—which they cannot do. This is not what happened in 1939, when they who had rearmed Hitler for the purpose of helping him to crush the new Russia, found their protege unwilling to stay within the limits they had assigned to him. Did they leave it to the progressive among the Germans to put Hitler down? Did they confine themselves to words? No, they all ganged up on Schickelgruber and threw him out!

"Capitalists of the world, unite!" is an admirable precept: for workers to subscribe to such tactics for themselves, is "subversive," indeed.

There are many other illuminating articles in this issue of "SRI Journal" which deserve consideration if there were space.

Warmongers to the Fore:

Of interest is the fact that SF Chronicle of Mch 4 said this:

> "Herman Kahn, consultant to the Gaither Committee on Strategic Warfare, will begin a series of three lectures on thermonuclear warfare today at the Hotel Whitcomb . . . the lectures (are) sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Northern California."

And this:

> "H. Rowan Gaither, Jr., San Francisco attorney and former head of the Ford Foundation, was honored as the University of California's 'Alumnus of the Year' for 1959, at a Charter Day banquet last night at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel . . . after [WW II he] organized the *Rand* Corporation, a private non-profit research group in Santa Monica."
>
> (The Rand Corporation a "non-profit" affair. That certainly is "rich"!—LH).
>
> ". . . In 1957, the National Security Council asked him to head still another committee, to look into civilian defense. The whole question of America's defense was investigated, resulting in the famed Gaither Report—still a top secret."

NOTE

Maurice Ogden, whose unforgettable "Hangman" appears in this issue, is a brilliant young Californian poet. James Brewer and Louise Harding are well-known to New Christian readers.

Your editor has been across the contingent and back. On his return trip he travelled across Saskatchewan, where the C.C.F. government will fight, we believe victoriously, for a new lease of life this June.

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